175 Nile dikes and military conscription. The term "Bedouin"
648 came to mean, as it was defined by the government of Egypt,
651 one who did not legally own land and hence was not subject to
423 forced labor or military service. On this basis, the Director
[162] of Recruiting Office in a 1904 census distinguished three kinds of Bedouin (Murray 1935:31):

290,095 - settled and living in their own farm colonies
240,880 - living among the fallahin
70,472 - real Bedouin or nomads

601,447

175 By the end of the 19th century, Bedouin society had
197 undergone a great deal of change. Politically, the Bedouins
648 were subordinates in a dominant-subjective authority relationship with the central regime of the Nile Valley. As a result of external political control, nomadism was curtailed and the Bedouins were forced to settle on the land to raise what few crops they could. These new political and economic conditions are the major aspects of the sedentarization process. Bedouin dependence on the central authority of Egypt and their reliance on horticulture increased with time. Nor did the entry of Britain into Egypt in 1882 change the material and social condition of the Bedouin.

175 The British, in the style of the politics of colonial-
648 ism, reorganized the administrative structure of Egypt. The Western Desert was given the status of a province; command

175 These were the wealthy group who had large numbers of sheep
648 and camels. In fact, most of the animals taken east to
722 Amriyya died on the way or were expropriated by the British.
556
166 'Umran Kailani, "who owned one thousand camels" and was the shaikh of the 'Ali Ahmar section of the Awlad 'Ali at the time, refused to go to Amriyya. The Bedouins say that he was treated very well by the Germans who asked him to form a local government and promised him all the help and supplies that he needed. It is difficult to obtain figures on how many Bedouins made the migration to the Nile Valley and how many remained behind in the Al-Qasr area. One informant told me that before [162] the war there were about 80,000 members of the Awlad 'Ali in the Western Desert and that out of this number, about 30,000 remained behind.

175 Those who sought refuge at Amriyya returned to the
648 al-Qasr area at the end of 1942 after the defeat of the Germans
727 at al-Alamain. They found things greatly changed. Before the war, there had been about twenty buildings in the al-Qasr area and most of these were bombed out by the air war. The loss of animals and the damage to the land made the resumption of normal life quite difficult for the Bedouins. Underneath, the land was literally a bed of anti-tank and anti-personnel mines left by the advance and retreat of three different armies. This restricted Bedouin travel and everyday food-
648 getting activities. This condition, which still exists, has
727

361 directly on the Mediterranean coast. The 'izba sector is
631 just 14 kilometers due west of Marsa Matruh, and about 300
131 kilometers due west of the coastal city of Alexandria.

161 In 1960, the population of the whole Western Desert
•162 was 98,000, the majority being of Bedouin stock. Considering that Egypt is a country with a 2 - 1/2 per cent rise in birth rate per year, the desert population would have been about 127,000 in 1965 when I was in the field. The town of Marsa Matruh, which is the capital of the Province of Matruh (formerly the Western Desert Province) has a population of about 7,000. With increasing economic and political concern for the desert provinces and the oases, this number should continue to rise.

131 Mintaqit al-Qasr (see Figure 4)[1] is an area which measures about six kilometers from east to west along the sea, and about ten to fifteen kilometers on a north-south line extending into the desert as far as the Libyan plateau. The
162 population of al-Qasr is less easy to determine. In 1960, al-Qasr, by official count, consisted of 225 families, 595 males and 749 females, or a total of 1344 souls. Al-Qasr, as
[631] the Bedouins define it, includes the qarya and six other demographic sections separately defined by the Egyptian government. The population of this al-Qasr is 2,996, 1,287 males and 1,709
[114] females. There is reason to doubt any census figures of the al-Qasr area because the Bedouins are reluctant to reveal their

1, [See p. 67--Analyst]

true numbers. As recipients of aid programs, their rations are based upon the number of members per family. For these purposes, they are anxious to present as high a population figure as possible. They exaggerate their livestock count in order to receive more fodder, and, at other times, underestimate their numbers to escape taxes.

For purposes of this study, the Bedouin population of al-Qasr is about 1,500 to 3,000. Most of this population lives on the coastal area and in the cultivable wadi areas. The remainder is scattered south of the plateau region, near the desert proper. The 'izba sector of al-Qasr may be described as a nucleated cluster or settlement, but due to the nature of the Bedouin segmentary lineage system, with its relatively autonomous kin-based residence groups, this sector lacks the usual degree of social interaction and integration associated with the village or hamlet. The 'izba might be described as a multi-nucleated settlement or cluster. Each lineage has its own mintaqa. Each mintaqa usually has a small dry-goods store owned and operated by a lineage member and catering chiefly to his own lineage-mates. Water and land in the 'izba sector are individually owned. In the barley-pasture area, rights and privileges of ownership are vested in the corporate group, even though the Bedouins and the government claim that tribally owned land is illegal. All land boundaries, whether a mintaqa or an individual's plot, are well-marked and well-known. The

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171 (Patai 1962:Ch. 6).

The point of this is that most of the Middle East's inhabitants are villagers dependent upon agriculture. The dominant form of marriage is not parallel-cousin marriage. As a matter of fact, marriage may or may not be considered exogamous depending upon the level of segmentation at which one wishes to draw the line for his definition of endogamy. Ayoub (1959) suggests that parallel-cousin marriage be considered only as an extreme expression of an overall preference for endogamy. She found in a sample of 514 marriages from a Syrian village that 9.1 per cent of them were with the parallel-cousin while 63.4 per cent were within the secondary group. She concludes from this that intra-lineage marriage is frequent enough that it cannot be accounted for by random mate selection.

582
•162 In 'Ailit Ma'fas of al-Qasr, out of 197 recorded
*[613] marriages over a period of five generations the frequency of parallel-cousin marriage was 11.1 per cent and marriage within the lineage was 41.6 per cent of the total. Of these 197
[595] marriages, only 39 were cases of polygny and most of these involved a man taking two wives (see Table 5 below).

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196 The confusion over the presence or absence of parallel-cousin marriage in the Middle East is related to the question of whether or not the researcher and the native are talking about the same thing. In Qasr, for instance, the term

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 116]

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	GENERATIONS					
	5th	4th	3rd	2nd	1st	Total
EXOGAMY						
Extra-Awlad 'Ali	3	11	20	24	3	61
Extra-'Ali Ahmar	1	2	2	1	0	6
Extra-'Aishaibat	1	3	6	4	1	15
Extra-'Ailit Ma'fas	0	1	15	12	5	33
	5	17	43	41	9	115 (58.4%)
ENDOGAMY (within 'Ailit Ma'fas)						
FaBrDa	1	2	8	10	1	22
FaBrSoDa	1	3	3	2	0	9
FaFaBrSoDa	0	0	3	10	5	18
FaFaBrSoSoDa	0	3	1	7	0	11
FaFaFaBrSoDa	0	0	0	0	3	3
FaFaFaBrSoSoDa	0	0	3	4	3	10
FaFaFaBrSoSoSoDa	0	0	1	2	0	3
FaFaFaFaBrSoSoDa	0	0	0	3	0	3
FaFaFaFaFaBrSoSoDa	0	0	0	0	3	3
	2	8	19	38	15	82 (41.6%)
Total	7	25	62	79	24	197

TABLE 5

HISTORY OF EXOGAMY AND ENDOGAMY FOR 'AILIT MA'FAS

1: Obermeyer E-5 (1964-1965) 1969 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
'Aishaibat

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Authority Group	Components	No. of Persons	Total Persons
I. Bait 'Umar	Bait 'Umar	73	73
II. Bait Kailani	Bait Kailani	67	67
III. Bait Firjani	Bait Firjani	31	43
	Bait Salih	12	
IV. Bait Muhammad	Bait Muhammad	27	30
	Bait Yunis	3	
V. Bait Braik	Bait Braik	6	32
	Bait Abd al-Hadi	6	
	Bait Fadl	3	
	Bait Mahaishi	8	
	Bait Maraja	9	
		245	245

*613
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These five groups represent the political structure of 'Ailit Ma'fas. Authority relations between the 245 members, and between the five groups, proceed with reference to the five 'awaaqil of the secondary group. External relations of 'Ailit Ma'fas, either in the form of demanding rights from other secondary segments, or of meeting obligations toward these groups, proceed through the five 'awaaqil "speaking with one voice." One group in 'Ailit Ma'fas, Bait Musa, migrated to the Nile Valley sometime during the 1930's. Bait Musa no longer possesses jural rights or obligations in the lineage. But jural relations are not always severed as a result of moving. 'Ailit Shraif, another secondary group in al-Qasr, has one bait in the Nile Valley which maintains its

CHAPTER II

ECOLOGY AND HISTORY

619 Awlad Ali are a number of Arabic-speaking semi-nomadic tribes of
101 sheep and goat herders who inhabit the northern part of the Western
•162 Desert of Egypt. The total population of Awlad Ali, according to the 1965 preliminary census, was about 100,000 inhabitants. This estimate is, however, very tentative and fluctuates from one year to the next, depending on the circumstances of the pasture in the area. The
131 area they occupy consists of the narrow strip of fertile land which extends along the Mediterranean coast from near Alexandria in the east some 350 miles westward to the UAR-Libyan border town of Sallum, and varying in width from ten to thirty miles. Vegetation in the area de-
132
133 pends on rainfall, supplemented by a number of artesian wells. The rainy season extends from November to March, but the rain is extremely erratic in nature, varying from one year to another and from one place to the next. Draught has been experienced every three to four years, one of them being experienced at the time of the study. The water situ-
312 ation is further aggravated by the low technological level of the people
[181] which prevents them from making the best use of the available rain water. There have been some attempts made to store as much of the rain water as possible, but these attempts are usually made by individuals and in too crude and primitive a way to prevent most of the water from being lost by seepage or by evaporation. The most commonly used method of water preservation in the area is digging cisterns in the ground. But most of these cisterns are too shallow to keep large amounts of water. Some deeper wells are found in the area and are called "beer sama"

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EILAT AGGARY AND ITS CONSTIUENT BAITS

BAIT	NUMBER OF ADULT MALES (Sayems)[1]	AQILA
Eweidha (El-Burg)*	28	Ta'eb
Eweidha (El-Alamein)*	31	Selouma
Yusef**	30	Suliman
Helleis	22	Hussein
El-Asabei'	56	Shei'eb
Abdel Hamid*	20	Haj Musa
Risq**	30	Yadem
Afash	25	Nayer
Daghas**	25	Daghash
Bul-Yazid*	21	Haj Shousha
Makhyum**	23	Abdel fattah
Hussein**	17	Masri
El-Ramly**	25	Salem
Rashwan**	30	Rashwan
Attya*	31	Masu'd
Abdella*	22	Abdel Galil

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1 Numbers are taken from the Amar list which is used to distribute the amount of bloodmoney on the various baits. An adult male or "sayem" is anyone 15 years of age or older. The word "sayem" means fasting individual and the age of 15 is when a child is forced to observe the duties of fasting.

[885]
[785]
[19]**

** Refers to adopted tribal segments (Muktatibeen).

* Baits of doubted origin. Some claim these baits are adopted, while others insist that they are Awlad Ali proper.

3:Evans-Pritchard E-4, 5 (1942-1944) 1949 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
(1837-1942) Sanusi

Europeans consider to be a low level of civilization. They do not feel the need for expensive roads and ports, electric light, wireless sets, telephones, schools, churches, newspapers, and so forth; and clearly their economy could not support them. Time and again colonists, tempted from their homes by the short sea routes and the wooded plateau, have settled in the country and dispossessed the Bedouin, but in the end it is the Bedouin, and not the colonists, who have survived. When one looks at the massive Phoenician, Greek, Egyptian, and Roman ruins and the already half-ruined Italian towns, villages, and farms, and then on the flimsy tents of the Arabs, one cannot but reflect that the race is not always to the swift nor the battle to the strong.

III

Even in the steppe country it is difficult to find a Bedouin *naja'*, camp, for the camps are pitched in hollows and on the slopes of wadis and their feeders for shelter from rain and wind and too many visitors. On the plateau they are hidden in the forest. One cannot, therefore, make more than a very approximate estimate of the population of any part of the country, or of its distribution, by bare observation. It can, however, be said that at present the country is underpopulated and that the population is badly distributed between town and country, the urban part of it, which is almost entirely unproductive, being too large in relation to the whole.

There have been a number of estimates of the population by early travellers who visited the country in Turkish times. They had to make a guess at the population figure, aided by Turkish censuses. It has been suggested on the basis of their reports that the country then supported round about 250,000 souls.[1] The Turkish census of 1911 gave the population as 198,345, excluding Kufra.[2] Taking into account the various estimates which were made during the Italo-Sanusi wars, in the interval between them, and since, it may be said that to-day the total population of Cyrenaica is probably round about 200,000, of whom about a quarter live in the towns, the remainder being tented Bedouin and a few thousand oasis dwellers.

[1] Dr. Gotthold Hildebrandt, *Cyrenaika als Gebiet künftiger Besiedelung*, 1904, p. 317.

[2] Coro, op. cit., p. 20.

3:Evans-Pritchard E-4, 5 (1942-1944) 1949 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
(1837-1942) . Sanusi

161 If the Bedouin of the country number no more than 150,000 it is evident that density of population outside the towns must be very low indeed. Ricci's map, based on Col. De Agostini's census, shows a density of 0 to 5 per sq. km. for all the tribes of Cyrenaica except the 'Arafa, the Darsa, and the Hasa, all plateau tribes, for which he gives a density of 5 to 10.[1] Col. De Agostini, in his exhaustive monograph,[2] written before the worst Italian excesses, reckoned the native population of Cyrenaica at 185,400, of whom 181,750 were Arabs and 3,650 Jews. Of the Arabs about 25,000—I give round figures—were living in urban centres, about 7,000 in the oases, and about 150,000 were tented Bedouin. Of the Bedouin he classed only 16,000 as nomads, 35,000 as semi-nomads, and 99,000 as stable. His classification into nomads, semi-nomads, and stable was, as he recognized, arbitrary, since there is no reliable criterion of stability among a tented people, but it gives a useful indication of relative mobility. By 'stable' Col. De Agostini meant normal residence in a determined area within which the tents are pitched here and there for watering or other reasons and with periodic movements for sowing and pasturing, even though some days away from their usual seat, as we find among the 'Arafa tribe and a considerable part of the Hasa, the Darsa, and the 'Abaidat tribes. By 'semi-nomads' he meant those Bedouin who spread with greater frequency and more widely either in their own territory or towards zones of sowing or pasturing where they remain for a long time on account of less prosperous conditions in their own territory, such as we find in the Magharba tribe and parts of the 'Awaqir, the Bara'asa, and the 'Abaidat tribes and in many of the more important client groups. By 'nomads' he meant Bedouin who, although they possess their own territory or recognized centre, emigrate for long periods to distant, and not always the same, objectives, and are almost always fractionized into small groups for reasons of watering and pasturing; or Bedouin who normally wander in desert territories, giving themselves exclusively to rearing camels. As examples of nomads in this sense he mentions the Aulad Shahin section of the 'Abaidat tribe and many units

[113] [1] *La Cirenaica—Geografica-Economica-Politica*, edited by Olinto Marinelli, 1922–3.

[2] *La Popolazioni della Cirenaica*, 1922–3, p. 444.

3:Evans-Pritchard E-4, 5 (1942-1944) 1949 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
(1837-1942) Sanusi

of the more independent client tribes. In other words, all the Bedouin of Cyrenaica are nomadic in some degree, some more and some less, and Col. De Agostini rightly stresses that whether they move much or little they all have the same characteristics when compared to peasants and townsmen.[1] They are all *bwadi*, as the Cyrenaican dialect has it, people of the tents, and they see themselves as a single people against the *hadur*, the citizens.

I have so far said nothing of the towns of Cyrenaica or of their inhabitants. They play a minor part in this story, which is about the Bedouin, but they cannot be entirely left out of it on account of their economic and political relations with the Bedouin, so I take this opportunity to give a brief account of them.[2]

Banghazi, which is supposed to be called after the saint Sidi Ghazi, buried in the town, is on the site of the classical Berenice. It is believed that after the disappearance of the Graeco-Roman community the site was unoccupied till the fifteenth century, when it was reoccupied by immigrants from the mercantile communities of the Tripolitanian coast, among whom Misuratans, both Muslims and Jews, preponderated in numbers and wealth. The Genoese Della Cella, who passed through the fly-infested town in 1817–18, in the time of the Caramanlis, says that it then contained about 5,000 inhabitants, at least half of whom were Jews.[3] Shaikh Muhammad 'Uthman al-Hashaishi, who was in the town in 1896, says that the greater part of the traders were immigrants from Sfax and the Island of Jerba—he was himself a Tunisian and often tended to exaggerate Tunisian influence—with some Greeks and a few Italians. 'As to the Turks, they do not give themselves to trade.' At this time Banghazi was a very simple, mostly mud-and-rubble, town, and the learned Shaikh makes a point of telling us that there were no posts or telegraphs, nor even a railway, save a line of three kilometres joining the official

[1] Ibid., pp. 32–3.

[2] The historical information is chiefly derived from Agostini, ibid., pp. 413–43.

[3] Paolo Della Cella, *Narrative of an Expedition from Tripoli in Barbary to the Western Frontier of Egypt in 1817*, 1822, pp. 194–5. (First published in 1819.) F. W. and H. W. Beechey (*Proceedings of the Expedition to explore the Northern Coast of Africa from Tripoly Eastward in 1821 and 1822*, 1828, p. 299) consider Della Cella's estimate too high. Theirs is 2,000.

3:Evans-Pritchard E-4, 5 (1942-1944) 1949 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
(1837-1942) Sanusi

175 632 175 162 632

residence of the Pasha to a garden; and that the town possessed only one machine for grinding corn.[1] The population increased considerably in the last decades of Turkish rule, reaching the figure of 16,500 in 1911.[2] In 1922 the population was 22,740, the great majority of whom were Arabs from the Maghrib, though some were immigrants into the town from the more sedentary Bedouin of the neighbourhood. It included also over 2,000 *qulaughla*, descendants of Turkish officials and troops and Arab women, and a large number of *shawashna*, descendants of Arab men and Negresses, with a sprinkling of *'abid*, full-blooded Negroes. There were also about 3,000 Jews and about 3,600 Europeans, almost all Italians. These elements, except for the Italians who left during the late war, are found in all the towns of Cyrenaica. There are also a few Cretans, the remnant of a small community exiled by the Italians.

Darna stands on the site of the Greek town of Darnis, from which the Arab name is presumably derived. It seems that it continued to be occupied throughout the Arab period, but was given new life through the settlement there of Muslim refugees from Spain at the end of the fifteenth century. According to tradition, towards the end of the seventeenth century the town was developed by a certain Muhammad Bey who organized irrigation and other public works there. The population was much increased by the settlement of merchants from the coastal towns of Tripolitania and of other countries of the Maghrib, either by direct migration or from Banghazi. When Della Cella [731] visited the town in 1816 the population had been reduced by pestilence from 7,000 to 500.[3] In 1911 it was about 9,500[4] and in 1922 it was about 9,700 (not counting Italians) of whom 250 were Jews and the rest Muslims.

Al-Marj, the Italian Barce, was the site of the ancient city of Barke, famous in Greek times and to Arab historians of the first centuries after the Arab conquest of Cyrenaica. It fell into decay after the Hilalian invasion and was only a heap of ruins till 1842, when the Turkish administration built a fort there, a Sanusiya zawiya being constructed shortly afterwards. In 1922 the population, of very mixed origins, was 1,540. The other centres in Cyrenaica are no more than villages around admini-

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[1] Op. cit., pp. 52 and 59.
[2] Coro, op. cit., p. 99.
[3] Op. cit., p. 177.
[4] Coro, op. cit., p. 102.

3:Evans-Pritchard E-4, 5 (1942-1944) 1949 MT6 Libyan Bedouin MT9
(1837-1942) -Sanusi

strative posts and contain not more than a few hundred persons. Shahhat and Tubruq had been Turkish posts before the Italians made them administrative centres. Taukra and Talmaitha had been Sanusiya lodges. Suluq and Qaminis were Italian creations. Marsa Susa (Apollonia) was first occupied by Cretan refugees during the Turco-Greek war of 1897. Ajadabiya, the town of which the Arab historian al-Bakri of the eleventh century spoke in such glowing terms, had ceased to be a settled centre until the Turks made it an administrative post. During the period of truce between the Sanusi and the Italians from 1917 to 1922 it became the seat of the Sanusi Amir, Sayyid Mahammad Idris, and afterwards an Italian administrative and commercial centre.

It has been noted that almost all the townsmen of Cyrenaica are immigrants from the west, from Morocco to Tripolitania, and the Bedouin regard them as foreigners and often with some distaste, especially the Tripolitanian immigrants. It is true that there is a small element of Bedouin origin in the towns, for the more stable and poorer Bedouin living near towns sometimes drift into them; but when they do so their descendants soon lose their links with the tents and their tribal status. The road to town life is a way along which there is no return, for the townsmen are not only foreigners, but their food, their speech, their dress, their manners, their interests, their loyalties, and in general their way of life and their sentiments, are different. The Bedouin visit the towns from time to time, but they do not feel at home in them, and they do not look at home in them either. In a town one can spot a Bedouin at a glance by his appearance, his step, his dignity, his naivety, and his loud voice, which sometimes startles the shopkeeper with whom he disputes a price.

The road to the towns is not only a way along which there is no return, but is a one-way track. A Bedouin can become a citizen, but a citizen can never become a Bedouin. He cannot live the life of the tents. Hence the Bedouin say that while it is always bad for a Bedouin girl to marry a townsman, it is possible for her to adapt herself to urban life, but it is out of the question for a Bedouin to marry a townsman's daughter, for it is impossible for her to become a daughter of the tents.

The *bwadi*, Bedouin, and the *hadur*, citizens, are separate

3:Evans-Pritchard E-4, 5 (1942-1944) 1949 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
(1837-1942) Sanusi

their behalf when prices rise. There are said to be 30,000 'Harabi' alone, excluding the Bara'asa, in Egypt, most of them in the Fayum, while the Aulad 'Ali and their client aggregates number nearly 40,000.[1]

V

The Arabs of Cyrenaica distinguish between those tribes which are *Sa'adi* and those which are *Marabtin*. The *Sa'adi* tribes are so called after Sa'ada of the Bani Sulaim, their ancestress. They are those nine tribes who hold the country by right of conquest: the 'Abaidat, the Hasa, the *'Ailat* Fayid, the Aulad Hamad (Bara'asa), the Darsa, the 'Abid, the 'Arafa, the 'Awaqir, and the Magharba. The *Marabtin* tribes use the earth and water by grace of the *Sa'adi* tribes of whom they are to a greater or lesser degree clients. Savarese says that their status in Turkish times lay between that of clients of ancient Roman law and that of serfs of the glebe in western Europe in the Middle Ages.[2] The Sanusiya did much to lessen the difference in status between free and client tribes in Cyrenaica and to-day the larger groups of *Marabtin*, although they may in theory live on *Sa'adi* land, do in fact live independently and pay no fees to the owners of the land. Sometimes violent disputes, and even wars, have broken out between free tribes and their clients, such as the famous battles between the 'Awaqir and the Shahaibat. Moreover, one has only to note that the predominance of the leading sections of some free tribes is due to the support of powerful client fractions to realize that, though the clients may be considered not to have the full status of a noble Arab tribe, the relationship between them and the owners of the country is often one of mutual dependence. Thus the leading section of the powerful Bara'asa tribe is the *'Ailat* Hadduth which in De Agostini's lists numbers 2,520 persons, of whom only 630 are true Bara'asa, the remainder being clients; and the leading section of the 'Awaqir, the *'Ailat* Suliman, counts 1,200 clients out of a total of 1,940. Where the relationship is one of mutual dependence the two tribes are expected to help each other in the payment of blood-money.

The client tribes are of different categories to which corre-

[1] G. W. Murray, *Sons of Ishmael*, 1935, pp. 277 and 296.
[2] Op. cit., p. 56.

3:Evans-Pritchard E-4, 5 (1942-1944) 1949 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
(1837-1942) Sanusi

the east began in the middle of the thirteenth century and has lasted to the present day. It is intimately bound up with the pilgrimage to the sacred towns of Islam. Round these pious men and round their tombs gathered for sanctuary the simple and oppressed, and from these and from the children of the holy men have sprung the *Marabtin bil baraka* tribes. The other client tribes have no sacred associations and are known as *Marabtin al-sadqan* because they pay *sadaqa*, a fee, to a free tribe for protection and for the privilege of using the earth and water. Some small broken-up fragments of this category on the plateau, such as the 'Awwama, Alauna, Hasanna, and some of the Qat'an and Sa'it, even to-day have a very inferior social position and are forced to make payments to, and to perform services for, the free tribes among whom they live. Other tribes of this second category live, as already mentioned, on territory which is to all intents and purposes their own and have long since ceased to pay a fee. This is especially the case to the east, in 'Abaidat tribal territory, where such client tribes as the Minifa, Qat'an, Taraki, and Huta live with independent status. In the west also the Fawakhir and Zuwaya are too powerful and warlike to accept overlordship. Also, the more nomadic groups in Cyrenaica are mostly client tribes and, like all nomads, resent any control or authority. Whatever the free tribes may say about them, they regard themselves as independent.

The provenance of the *Sa'adi* tribes and of some of the *Marabtin* tribes is shown together with the distribution of the Sanusiya lodges on the map facing page 35, and the approximate numbers of these tribes, and of a few others not shown on the map, are listed below.

Sa'adi		al-Zuwaya	3,700
al-'Abaidat	30,450	al-Shwa'ir	3,400
al-'Awaqir	27,500	al-Fawakhir	3,300
al-Bara'asa	21,000	al-Sa'it	2,900
al-Darsa	18,850	al-Majabra	2,500
al-Magharba	13,000	al-Minifa	2,500
al-'Arafa	9,300	al-Masamir	2,400
al-'Abid	6,850	al-Awajila	2,300
al-Hasa	6,500	Aulad al-Shaikh	1,650
'Ailat Fayid	100	al-'Aqail	1,400
		al-Shahaibat	1,350
Marabtin		al-Sarahna	1,250
al-Qat'an	5,850	al-Qabail	1,150
al-'Awwama	3,800	al-Huta	1,150

3:Evans-Pritchard E-4, 5 (1942-1944) 1949 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
(1837-1942) Sanusi

619 The figures for the free tribes include attached client groups,
162 for the principal of which estimates are also given separately.
[127] The figures are taken from Col. De Agostini's monograph. The provenance of the chief Bedouin tribes of Tripolitania and of the fringes of Fazzan who are Sanusi, or sympathetic to the Sanusiya, is shown, likewise in relation to the distribution of Sanusiya lodges, on the map on page 52.

VI

619 Although there were in the past intertribal wars and feuds
[671] which have lasted into the present time, and in spite of the
[574] difference in status between free and client tribes, there were laws of the tents which gave every Bedouin the freedom of the whole country, and there was much coming and going between the tribes and exchange of hospitality, especially in the grazing grounds where sections with distinct territories on the plateau shared common pasturage to the south of it, and where the necessities of Bedouin life, watering at wells in transit, the crossing of another tribe's territory on the way to markets, the pursuit of straying camels, and the need to sow where rain fell, imposed a recognition of individual rights without regard to tribal affiliations or social status. Had it not been so, the Grand
[793] Sanusi could not have built on the tribal system his inclusive
* [795] organization, for there would have been no foundations in culture, social structure, and sentiment, on which to build.

128 My inclinations as an anthropologist are to discuss at some
619 length the tribal and kinship systems and the life of the tents, but I refrain from giving more than a bare outline of the tribal system, and I neglect altogether kinship and the life of the tents, because, however interesting detail about these matters might be to the ethnologist, a knowledge of them is, I think, unnecessary for an understanding of the development of the Sanusiya Order in Cyrenaica. I discuss the structure of the Cyrenaican tribe therefore only in so far as it is relevant to this general theme.[1]

619 Use of the term 'tribe' in Cyrenaica, even if it be restricted to the big free tribes, is always to some extent arbitrary for the political structure is highly segmentary. Nevertheless, though

[1] For a more general account see Savarese, op. cit., Pt. II, *passim*.

4: Peters E-5 (1948-1950) 1970 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
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not male names are used, is assumed; and secondly that the Bedouin are polygamous. If, then, half-brother differentiation or full sibling unity is to be shown genealogically, the obvious way in which this can be done is to use a maternal name in the genealogy. Thus, in the Cyrenaican genealogy, a number of tribal groups will be shown as sons of a particular father. If differentiation of these groups needs to be shown, this can be effected by clustering the groups round, say, two female names (the names of the respective mothers) thereby making the two clusters of groups stand in the relationship of paternal half brothers. The concept of the 'one womb', of maternal origin, is a critical one in the context of social cohesion, but it does not deny patriliny; on the contrary, it serves in a sense to reinforce it. Female names can be used to show a greater notion of cohesion than the mere use of male names, and the significance of a female name placed at the apex of the Cyrenaican genealogy is that it is the symbol of full brother unity at the highest political level.

The founding ancestress Sa'ada is credited with two sons, who in turn are considered to be the founding ancestors of the two largest groups of tribes in Cyrenaica. Each of these sons is said to have begottten two sons, as shown on the accompanying genealogy. The next generation shows a total of nine names, and these nine ancestors are considered to be the founding ancestors of the nine noble tribes of Cyrenaica.[2] Continuing the line of descent of one of these tribes—the Magharba—the same pattern of segmentation repeats itself: the tribe is divided into two primary sections having ar-Ra'aid and ash-Shamakh as the respective founding ancestors. Ash-Shamakh is said to have had four sons, and these are the founding ancestors of four secondary sections. These latter four are credited with a varying number of sons, as shown in the genealogy (Fig. 18-1).

One feature of the Cyrenaican genealogy immediately stands out from this brief description: the uniformity in the number of segments at the various levels of segmentation. Along the line of descent from Sa'ada to Nasr, the number of sons shown in the

[162] [2] One of these, the 'Ailat Fayid, now only numbers about 150 souls, and although it is given the structural position of a tribe in the genealogy, it scarcely merits this distinction in practice.

4: Peters E-5 (1948-1950) 1970 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
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segments show a lineage depth of three generations, while others show as many as six. No special importance is attached by the Bedouin to this number, although some writers claim that a depth of five generations is of particular significance among other Arab tribes.[7] Normally, in speaking of the vengeance group, the Bedouin refer to the name of the ancestor of a tertiary tribal section. Any one claiming membership of this group, regardless of his precise generational relation to the offender or the victim is immediately and equally involved with its other members. When speaking of the group as such, the Bedouin refer to it as 'those who have agreed on the blood', and use the phrase *'amara dam* to refer to it. Blood money does not pass between its members, and political division does not occur within it.

These small tertiary sections of tribes, then, are small residential groups. Their population varies from one group to another, but most of them have a total population of 150 to 200 souls. Successive generations—at least according to the Bedouin view—add to these numbers, and also increase progressively the number of generations in their genealogies. Substantial increases of population would, of course, constitute a pressure on local resources, on the water available in the particular well of a group, on the amount of land available for ploughing, and on the pastures for animals at the end of the rainy season. Again, if each generation is to be added to the existing genealogy, this would necessitate a realignment of structural relationships with each succeeding generation. The discussion that follows is an examination of the ways in which adjustments are made to maintain an equilibrium between the population of a group and the carrying capacity of the land on which its members live, and of the ways in which the genealogical structure is able to persist in the face of various contingencies which threaten it.

A beginning might be made by indicating the processes at work to keep the form of the genealogy fairly fixed when there is an absence of population pressure on resources. The first problem is the simple one of describing the mechanics of manipula-

[7] e.g. Burkhardt (1831), speaks of the *Khomse*, the five generation group, as very widespread among Arabs. G. W. Murray also reports the use of the word *Khomsa* among the Arabs of the Sinai desert to designate the blood-vengeance group, but the term used by the Aulad 'Ali tribe, the cousins and Egyptian neighbours of the Cyrenaican Bedouin, he gives as *Awlia'-ed-dam* (which simply means 'blood kindred').

4: Peters E-5 (1948-1950) 1970 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
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121 173 613 619 178 If, moreover, the view of a genealogy as a continually expanding line of descent is to be accepted, it must be accepted also that large structural units, even in conditions of population stability, are to experience a continuous re-ordering of their structural relationships. In practice, what this means is that a tribe of, say 20,000 souls cease to be tribesmen of a named tribe and instead all become members of an almost identical group but with a different name. To take an example from the genealogy given [162] on page 365: the Magharba tribe shown there has a total population of some 13,000 souls. If proliferation affected the topmost limits of this tribe, the apical name disappears and presumably the name of one of the primary sections is to be substituted. That is, half the tribe would have to take on the lineage name of their opposed primary section. The only alternative to the use of the name of a primary segment as a substitute for the abandoned tribal name is the acceptance by 13,000 people of a totally new name, which is most unlikely.

It is reasonable to assume therefore, that the genealogy, in its general form, is fixed for long periods of time at least. This still leaves the problem of how and where adjustments are made to face the contingencies of birth and death, of the succession of generations, and of the irregular increases and decreases of population among the tertiary segments. An important clue lies in the number of segments which appear at the various orders of segmentation. From Sa'ada, the founding ancestress, in the line which runs to Nasr, each ancestor is shown as having a pair of sons for four orders of segmentation. At the fifth generation from Sa'ada—this is now the secondary order of segmentation within the tribe—the number of sons increases to four. Not all tribes will show the same number of sons at each generation as the Magharba—some, for example, might show three instead of two at the primary order—but what is true of all tribes is that there is evident consistency in the number down to and including the fifth generation from Sa'ada; if, that is to say, one of a tribe's primary segments is divided into three secondary sections, the other one or two, as the case may be, will be divided likewise. Throughout the tribes in Cyrenaica, then, segmentation of orders superior to the tertiary segments shows a pronounced consistency in their numbers.

5: Peters E-5 (1948-1950) 1967 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
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given to the feud, for this is one of the few societies in which it occurs.[1] What is meant here by a state of feud is a set of relationships between two tribal groups which are characterized by hostility whenever two or more of their members meet. These hostilities are of a sort which cannot be terminated; feud is not a matter of a group indulging in hostilities here at one moment and there the next, but a sequence of hostilities which, as far as the contemporary Bedouin are concerned at least, know no beginning and are insoluble. Feud and the other forms of relationships to be discussed presently are to be understood, in part, by reference to the ordered divisions of the tribes. It is necessary at the outset, therefore, to give a brief statement about the tribal organization; other details will be included as they become relevant.

There are nine noble tribes in Cyrenaica whose members are referred to as freemen. These tribes see themselves as divided into three genealogical orders of sections: primary, secondary, and tertiary. The tertiary tribal sections correspond to the camps which cluster around the larger watering points during the drought season, May to November. Such camps consist of clusters of smaller camps in which the concentration of agnatically related males is over 80 per cent. Within the latter kinship links are known, so that these agnates are consanguinely related as well as politically united. The populations of most tertiary groups vary from about 200 to 700 or so, but a group ceases to be viable if the number of male adults drops much below fifty. Political division is absent from these tertiary groups, regardless of their precise size, for, whatever may be the condition of developing local lineages, the acceptance of a common name carries with it full political responsibility incumbent equally on all their members. Each of these tertiary sections, moreover, has its own watering point, ploughland, and pastures; each has its own *watan* or homeland. This statement is true of all tribal sections of whatever order of segmentation. In other words, the tribes and their sections correspond to an ordered division of the territory.

Names of tribal sections are the same as those given in the genealogies. Both tribe and lineage are identically ordered. Lineages develop, and split at the tertiary order of segmentation,[2] and, *a fortiori*, the process is the same for the tertiary tribal sections. Split, in other words, occurs where relationships are most intense.

The summer community which constitutes a tertiary section, breaks up once the rains begin in November or December. At this time of the year water is readily available in the numerous small cisterns, there is pasture in plenty, and the animals are giving milk. These combined reasons lead the larger summer camp to divide into smaller camps of some five to ten tents. The latter are separated one from the other by short distances—a mile or so—but together form a cluster in that they are territorially distinguishable from a neighbouring and similar group of camps. Tertiary sections are discrete also in the sense that all the major necessities of daily living are available within their several territories. Each controls its own natural resources, and these resources are the same for all the camel-herding groups—in any given year one may have more of a particular commodity than another, but the difference is in

[1] Evans-Pritchard, 1940. The feud might have been present among the Nuer. Exogamy and the other rules of marriage which obtain among them create a dispersion of ties, which superficially appears to militate against a condition of feud. But a dispersal of ties does not mean that they necessarily act as a pressure for peace. Moreover, the exogamous links may link limited numbers of groups only, leaving others with sufficient discreteness to pursue feuding relationships as they are described in this paper.

[2] See Peters, 1959.

age depicted in their notion of a family is meaningful. It follows that, since this unit will not be clustered in one tent, but distributed over several, each small community must be so constituted that links people can use to claim the services of others must exist, and that, since claims can be made against various sorts of kinship relationships, each small camp will have predictable kin links. It follows, further, that since age, sex and number of people are significant, a small camp will have a characteristic demographic structure; each tent in a camp will display developmental changes, and particular tents may be shifted from one camp to another, but if a livelihood is to be gained in this semi-desert environment supporting its mixed pastoral-cum-agricultural economy, then at any given time the small camp must have certain fixed features in its composition. The elementary family is subject to far too many vicissitudes to exist on its own. It now remains to demonstrate this general argument by examining the details of one of these small camps.

A Particular Camp Viewed in Detail

The camp was one of 12 which constitute a minimal tribal section. In genealogical terms its male members were linked through an ancestor five ascending generations from living males of about 20 years of age. Usually, in summer, camps of this sort move to the vicinity of a large watering point; in winter, this larger community breaks up into a number of smaller ones as man and animals move off further south to the pastures. The total living population of the tribal section to which this particular camp belonged was 524.

Linked patrilineally, its male members were also linked in a plurality of other consanguineal ways. Primarily, this plurality was brought about by parallel-cousin marriage. The incidence of this form of marriage for males of this group was 48 per cent[12] of the gross total of 234, derived from their marriages over three generations; that is, the generation of males entering into marriage, and the generation which has begun to die out are included with the generation of middle-aged males. This means that practically every male is related to others in a number of ways, and it is necessary to point this out now because the details to be given presently will show only the more immediate, but not all, existing connections. Plurality of links, moreover, is not the only consequence. Parallel-cousin marriage is a transmuting agent, creating a diversity of links. Each and every link carries with it specific modes of behaviour, which in turn means that each individual has a wide variety of different claims he can press on his co-residents. Marriage connections also exist with other sections of the same tribe. Their proportion is 28 per cent of the total. Demographically, it

[12] As a matter of interest, the figure for marriage to the father's brother's daughter is 50 per cent of the figure for parallel-cousin marriage in general, but the consequences of these are beyond the scope of the present discussion.

7:Abou-Zeid E-5 (no date) 1959 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
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villages and towns, especially at Mersa Matrouh which is the seat of the local government. The second world war was also influential in changing attitude and social values. Men who were employed as unskilled labourers during the war by the different combating armies became accustomed to paid jobs and to cash remuneration, which had previously been practically unknown to them. When the war ended, it was not easy for those workers to go back to the old nomadic life with all its hardships and insecurity. Some of them preferred to migrate to the Delta, while the others decided to settle down to work in the desert villages and towns as servants or as unskilled labour in the local government departments, schools, hospitals, etc. Most of the younger men now prefer to follow their example; the settled sedentary life is thus gaining ground all the time at the expense of livestock husbandry.

But important as they may be in accelerating the drift from nomadism to sedentary life, these factors fall beyond the scope of this paper and need not be discussed further in this context. We shall be concerned with the plans and schemes which are deliberately designed to deal with the settlement of the nomadic and semi-nomadic clans. But before going on to consider this problem we should like to give a brief outline of the area itself so as to establish a clear idea about the general setting, and to see the projects themselves against a background of the whole social life. This should help us to understand more clearly the motives underlying the projects and to discern the effects they may have on the social situation.

Geographers generally divide the Western Desert into three main divisions, each of which has its outstanding characteristics.

1. The northern strip which extends some 500 kilometres along the coast from the west of Alexandria to the Egyptian-Libyan border. This strip, known as the *Dera'a Bahari*, consists mainly of fertile cultivated land which extends some 20 to 30 kilometres to the south, tending generally to become narrower to the west till it almost vanishes at Sollum near the frontiers.
2. To the south of this green coastal zone lies a high plateau in which are a number of depressions, the most important being the Qattara Depression.
3. The rest of the area; i.e. the extreme southern region, is real arid desert. The coastal zone is the only really inhabited and cultivated part of the desert; beyond it there is hardly any prospect for cultivation. It is also a vital centre to which the scattered clans and groups of herders come to gather round the water points and the artesian wells during the dry season when the water becomes scarce in the southern parts.

The climate of the desert varies between the Mediterranean climate to the north and along the coast, and the sub-tropical dry climate in the southern parts. The dry season is usually very warm, tending to grow hotter southwards; while the wet season, usually extending from November to March, is generally mild especially in the north. Rainfall is very erratic and varies greatly from year to year and from one place to another. But on the whole, there is more rain in the north than in the south, and in most years rain falls in the southern parts only on very rare occasions. Rain may come quite suddenly and cause torrential floods which sweep away dwellings, crops and animals alike. This is typical of the Sallum area.

According to the 1947 census, the Bedouins of the Western Desert number 68,161. Only 23,444, i.e. less than the half of the population, are engaged in

7:Abou-Zeid E-5 (no date) 1959 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
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105 livestock husbandry as their main occupation while the rest earn their living
•[162] by such other means as agriculture, fishing, stone-cutting, trade, etc. But whatever his main job may be, a man is likely to possess a number of sheep which he usually entrusts to a professional herdsman if he cannot look after them himself. This means that all sectors of the population have an active interest in livestock. Livestock, or rather sheep, are the most important and most esteemed item of wealth, and pastoral values still rank very high in spite of the obvious attraction of other types of work. On the other hand, pure nomadism is not practised, except perhaps by some small groups of camel-herders living in the far south of the area. The tremendous majority of the herdsmen are sheep-herders, whose movements are much more restricted than the movements of the real nomads. They have permanent settlements to which they retire when the grazing season is over, and there they practise agriculture, which they consider a secondary and supplementary occupation.

Most of the inhabitants of the Western Desert belong to the Awlad Ali clans who originally came from Libya. Some less important and less numerous clans, the Morabiteen clans, also live there as 'clients' of the more powerful Awlad Ali. A certain degree of correspondence exists between clan segmentation and the distribution of lands, both pasture-land and the fertile arable areas of the northern strip being distributed among clans and lineages in a clearly defined manner. A man cannot make use of the grazing ground, much less of the cultivation ground, known to belong to a different clan or lineage except under certain conditions and only obtaining the owners' permission. This does not mean, however, that clans and lineages are localized. For in spite of the natural tendency of kinsmen to cluster together and to live near to each other, the members of the same clan-segment may be widely dispersed, and the inhabitants of any specific locality, especially near the coast, usually belong to different clans. Nevertheless, a certain clan may be more strongly represented in a particular locality than all the other clans.

105 The problem of water supply is, naturally, the most crucial problem with
312 which the people have to cope. The absence of surface water, the shortness of the wet season, the low rainfall and the meagreness of the subterranean resources in most parts of the desert, especially inland, impose drastic limitations upon their activities. Apart from the few artesian wells found in the northern coastal zone, rain is the main source of water supply. It is, however, a very unreliable source because of its irregularity. Moreover, a considerable amount of rain-water is lost by seepage through the sand and by evaporation. The situation is further aggravated by the fact that not all the functioning wells yield potable water or even water suitable for the irrigation of fields. The water of a large number of these artesian wells is charged with a high percentage of dissolved salts. This water can only be used for domestic purposes. Certain experiments are now being carried out at Ras-el-Hikma and Fuka to see whether such saline water could be used for irrigating the pasture-lands.

105 The two main complementary occupations, i.e. livestock husbandry and
243 the cultivation of barley, are seriously affected by the water situation. The
311 strip of arable land which extends along the sea coast varies in breadth from place to place and from year to year according to the rainfall. In good years it may stretch some 10 to 20 kilometres southwards, but in bad years the cultivation becomes rather patchy and is confined to a very narrow strip only a few kilometres wide. The people are never sure of their crops, and in really

9: Murray E, K-3, 4 (ca. 1910-1935) 1935 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
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(SINAQRA)

The Sinaqra, or descendants of Sinqir, are also reckoned among the descendants of Ali the White, "because Sinqir married his daughter Khadija." They include:— 619 173

(4)	Afrad	Maghawra
(5)	Azayim	'Eilet el-Abdi, Muwamna
(6)	'Eilet Eleura	'Eilet Jeballa, 'Eilet Omar, 'Eilet Harun, 'Eilet Ajarma, 'Eilet Tahir.

II.

The descendants of 'Ali bin 'Aqar's second son, 'Ali el-Ahmar ("The Red") are:—

(1)	'Esheibat	'Eilet ed-Dawi, 'Eilet el-Azraq, El-Wassafa, 'El-Lazumi
(2)	Kimeilat	'Eilet el-Hajj Muhammad, El-Maharsa, 'El-Khadayij
(3)	Jineishat [1]	'Eilet el-Majduba, Es-Samayil, Tabak

III. SINANA

The Sinana are the descendants of Sineina, the third son of Ali bin 'Aqar bin Dib. They include:—

(1)	Mahafid	'Eilet Etman, 'Eilet el-Hammama, 'Eilet esh-Shimla
(2)	Arawa	'Eilet ez-Zireiriya, 'Eilet el-Ghazulat
(3)	Qatifa	'Eilet Nasralla, 'Eilet-Omar, Esh-Shawalha.
(4)	Ijna	

Jawabis.—The nomadic Jawabis (sing. Jibusi) are for the most part still settled in and around the Wadi Natrun, where General Andreossy found them in Napoleon's time. He calls them: 619 175 [131]

> "A hospitable tribe who lead a shepherd's life and encamp there every winter with their flocks. They are employed during this time carrying Natrun and prickly reeds; they also have some traffic in dates, which they fetch in caravans from Sioua in the Ammonian Oasis; it is a journey of twelve to fifteen days. These Arabs are *marâbouths*, or peaceful people." [2]

He goes on to say they never make war, and only take up arms to defend themselves. In his time the tribe was composed of about 2,000 men, and possessed 60 horses. A little [162] [231] [162]

[1] Kennett gives the three subdivisions of the Jineishat as Madi, Samayil, and Jabr.
[2] *Memoirs Relative to Egypt*, 288.

9: Murray E, K-3, 4 (ca. 1910-1935) 1935 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
Egypt

619 later Wilkinson estimated them at about 400 men near El
[175] Terrana and the Wadi Natrun.
[162]

At the present day they are still reckoned *Murabitin*, but, like the Jumei'at, are sufficiently independent not to have to
[439] pay tribute. They share with the Awlad 'Ali in the date traffic with Bahariya Oasis, where the produce of the village of Mandisha is reserved for them, and that from Bawitti for the Awlad 'Ali.

619 Kennett notes (p. 54) that they demand £400 for blood-
682 money instead of £300, the usual price in the Western
181 Desert, and alludes (p. 67) to :

> "The free and easy way in which the Gawabees tribe near the Wadi Natrun pack up their summer tents and leave them in situ while they themselves trek off with their winter tents into the open desert for the winter grazing is indicative of this code of honesty prevailing among them."

142 On page 101, he calls them " nearly all very small men,
619 with strangely similar features and characteristics running through all the families of the tribe ".

619 Bramly has collected three pedigrees of the tribe all
173 going back to Sheikh 'Abd el-Jawad el-Kassar. They state that they are an offshoot from the Qadadfa, and about 500 years ago left Saqiet el-Hamra in Morocco to settle in Egypt.

As a reward for " settling some affairs in the Wadi Natrun ", Muhammad 'Ali Pasha granted them the usual Bedouin privilege of exemption from military service. There are small colonies of them elsewhere among the Awlad Ali, while others are settled in the cultivated provinces of Giza, Beheira, Menufiya, and Gharbiya.

Jumei'at.—This tribe, possibly a remnant of the original Libyan inhabitants of Mariut, is of quite respectable antiquity, for Ibn Khaldun includes the Jumei'at as a subtribe of " Beni 'Ali ", themselves an offshoot from Beni Suleim. Whether his " Beni 'Ali " are the same as the modern Awlad 'Ali may be questioned, yet it is a reasonable assumption, for the exchange of the words " Beni " and " Awlad " in tribal names can be paralleled elsewhere.

The Jumei'at all agree that their remote ancestor, whom they share with the Awlad Suleiman and the Qat'an, was called Ka'b, and a Ka'b indeed appears in the pedigree ascribed

9: Murray E.K-3,4 (ca. 1910-1935) 1935 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
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619 oppression, he gathered his people and delivered a fiery
175 denunciation of his religion, during which he smashed his
726 rosary into pieces and mixed it with his horse's fodder;
792 Baqush then invited their kinsmen (?) the Awlad 'Ali, to come over from the "Green Mountain" and help them. To entice the Awlad 'Ali, he is said to have sent them samples of salt desert water and Nile water sweetened with sugar to illustrate the difference between the hardships of the desert and the comforts of the Rif.[1]

619 As recounted earlier, the Awlad 'Ali completely routed the
175 Hanadi and their allies, and drove them from the desert.
726 In the division of the conquered territory, the Jumei'at received a third, and, although they were still considered Murabitin, were released from the payment of tribute. They [131] now live intermingled with the free sections of the Awlad 'Ali, all along the north coast of Egypt, and are numerous in Beheira, especially near Abu Hummus.

619 *Samalus*.—The Samalus are found scattered among the
[131] Awlad 'Ali on the northern coast and stranded among many of the Egyptian provinces. They once possessed a head sheikh Abu Sala at Minya, and colonies are recorded from Faiyum, Beheira, Menufiya, Gharbiya, and Sharqiya. An [175] old paper from the Recruiting Department gives from [162] seventeen villages in the Faiyum 775 mounted Samalus [231] and 1,400 on foot, possessing 1,760 camels and 11,400 sheep. Two important groups of wells, both called "Sawani [312] es-Samalus" exist on the north coast, one about 50 kilometres east of Salum, and the other 20 kilometres south of Dhab'a.

[173] They say they came to Egypt, 400 strong, about 200 years ago, from the Wadi Samalus in the Jebel Akhdar, and their ancestor twelve generations ago was Nasr el-Hasani, of course an "Arab from Beni Suleim".

[175] In the *Description de l'Egypte*, P. D. Martin relates how
[726] in 1800 the Samalus of Faiyum were raided by a party of Ferjan, 200 strong, from Beheira.

619 *Shiheibat*.—These are a "Mrabit" tribe from the west with
186 an unenviable reputation, living near the Wadi Natrun. Sayed Idris, the former Senussi leader, says of them: "Most

[1] Dumreicher, 16. This is probably the "Sheik Abdall Gawyal Bagooshi" who wrote to Sir Sydney Smith in March, 1801, warning him of the approach of the French from Damanhur. Wilson, *History of the British Expedition in Egypt*, 371. (Rif = cultivated area.)